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Holy Land.

Histoire des Croisades—Par Michaud—En Trois Volumes—Paris, 1819.

As the Great Christian Festival of to-day, is one on which we could not command the services of our Printers, and which we desire also to observe as a day of rest ourselves, we have presumed on the indulgence of our Friends to dispense with their labours, and suspend the usual issue of our Journal to-morrow, which, if printed, would require the close employment of the whole of to-day. For this reason, also, as well as to direct the attention of our Readers to a subject at once interesting and appropriate, we have taken from a late Number of the British Review, the following ably written article on the Crusades of our Ancestors, for the recovery of that Holy Land, which gave birth to Him whose Nativity we this day celebrate, and became the cradle of a religion that is spreading rapidly to the uttermost corners of the earth, dispensing Life and Light through regions of Barbarism and Darkness, and holding out the bright and cheering hope of Universal Civilization and Happiness!

In proportion as geology advances in its discoveries, it becomes more and more certain, that a series of prodigious convulsions has been the agency under which the earth, the habitation of man, has acquired its goodly and magnificent arrangement:—since, therefore, to the rude conflicts of the qualities of matter may be traced much in its present adjustment that is most useful to meet our wants and supply us with gratifications, it is far from irrational to regard them as actual preparations for our convenience and benefit. The agitations and outrages that give such a stormy character to some of the chapters of the history of society, may probably be regarded in the same light, as a part of the process by which the capacities of improvement have been excited and fructified. There is, however, we would observe, very considerable danger in attempting to deduce from the traces of the ravages in question, any general system of necessary cause and effect. We know, that both in the physical and moral world, very distant periods respectively exhibit marks of an established connexion, but, when we seek to limit that connexion, Nature baffles us by showing, that her principles of production may be brought into operation in a thousand ways, and that her impulses have an inexhaustible ability to conform their action to the infinite variety of circumstances. In the organization of the globe, and still more remarkably in the great events displayed upon its surface, all that it falls within our faculties to discern, is, that, although they include the most opposite ingredients, occasioning suffering as well as pleasure, harshness as well as harmony, there is in their essential and utmost order, in their deepest and most pervading influence, an ever-working tendency to resolve this chequered variety into results of great importance, in the mysterious scheme by which the course of the world is governed.

The recent political history of Europe furnishes matter calculated to illustrate these observations; but we have been led into this train of reflection at present by the very full narrative of those extraordinary events, the Crusades, which we have placed at the head of this article.

It will be our object however, rather to treat of certain general questions connected with the Crusades, than to follow M. Michaud's history of these events, which, in fact, is not yet completed; the three volumes hitherto published being the recital down to the expedition of St. Louis, the narrative of which is reserved for a fourth, that has not yet made its appearance. M. Michaud, throughout the whole course of his Work, does little else than amplify Gibbon. He has taken for guides, the chapters of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," which treat of the Crusades; where our countryman has condensed, he has quoted at large; where the former alludes, he cites, proves, and compares; he recounts all the anecdotes to which his predecessor slightly glances; and following carefully the track of research indicated at the bottom of Gibbon's pages, he furnishes the passages from the old authors at length, and adds particulars from their Works, which neither the manner nor the plan of the other permitted him to lay before his readers. Scarcely however, in one in-

stance, do we find M. Michaud taking a new view of the field before him: he is not even original in quotation; he must be led up to all he takes, and he offers it to others as it has been given to himself. His history of the Crusades is interesting, because it is full; and for this reason it may be considered as the most complete that has yet been published. But profound reflections, masterly discoveries, original thoughts, even striking beauties of language and arrangement, are not to be looked for in this Work, except as they may be borrowed from others for the occasion. As the largest collection, however, of the facts of these celebrated enterprises, it merits the notice of curious readers, who will find in it much to amuse and occupy their attention, and little or nothing to offend.

The plea of these adventurers was piety; the immediate effects of their actions were misery and guilt. The most exalted characters, the most learned men of the time were their advocates, and active agents. Nations assembled in vast congregations, where all that was dignified in station, splendid in birth and glory, touching in beauty and grace, humble and fervent in devotion, was worked upon by the eloquence of pontiffs and princes, and blended and melted into a torrent of burning zeal, that flowed but to devastate and to consume. Yet the terrible irruption did in fact deposit a new soil for the purposes of future fertility. In the midst of a condition of society, in which the lower orders were separated from the upper by a difference of nature rather than of rank, a common sympathy, a feeling of equality, a cordial union of enthusiasm was instantaneously produced; one impulse was felt by all; one cry proceeded from every mouth. The sudden intervention of a great object, powerful enough to break the force of habit and to subdue the pride and prejudices of condition, induced each to seize the hand of his neighbour in the grasp of fellowship, with no regard but to his ability to assist the cause which all had equally at heart. Those who might be animated by ambition, or even more sordid motives, felt the absolute necessity of inspiring the public disposition in favour of their views; they were sensible that nothing was to be effected in so great a design but by the force of public sentiment, and hence they were compelled to address as men, those whom they had heretofore treated as beings below that level. The mind was now to be gained, the sensibilities were to be touched; feeling took the place of force. This having once been done, it is impossible that things should ever return to their former state: the motives may cease, but the effects must continue. The word once passed cannot be recalled; the spell once broken cannot be again imposed; the animation given to the minds of the multitude, and the association and fellowship of ranks before widely distant and estranged, which were caused by the preaching of the Crusades, denote an important point gained in the political and moral progress of society. If the tomb of the Saviour, who died for both rich and poor, and who in this world was chiefly received and attended by the latter, could only be rescued from disgrace and insult by the united exertions of rich and poor; if the Serf was called from his hovel to march with his Lord into another region of the earth, the name of which probably awakened for the first time the faculty of imagination in his hitherto torpid and unconscious bosom;—if his sword, instead of being employed as heretofore in feuds which offered him neither profit nor glory in return for his blood, was now invited in eloquent strains to display its prowess in behalf of that heaven whose eye was upon him, and where he had an interest and a hope equal to those of the proudest monarchs,—can it be rationally denied that he was thus practically instructed in self-estimation, that he thus received a lesson of natural equality, and was made to feel himself worthy of, and entitled to, a better condition than that by which he had been, up to this moment obscured? The belief in the sensibilities of Jupiter and the luxuries of Apollo, inculcated an acquiescence in the licences and privileges of the great and powerful: if gods were chiefly distinguished by their self-indulgence, what subject in Rome had a right to blame Nero in his house of gold, or Caligula in his brothel at Caprea? It is the Christian religion that resolutely establishes the equal rights of men, by holding all alike to the same duties, and determining the ultimate fate of mankind by rules that at once reverse and revenge their oppressions. It is to it, therefore, that we owe the triumphs of manly

sentiment: it opened a course of improvement which otherwise must have remained shut. By the prevalence of the doctrines of Christ, sources of individual happiness and views of human destiny have been discovered, of which the people of the ancient world had no distinct idea. Hence have sprung "the sweet domestic charities," and all the rich varieties of civilized manners: hence have been cleared the countless paths in which philanthropy and enterprise go hand in hand, which at once beautifully chequer the scene of life, and, by exciting general observation and interest, provide in the surest manner for that state of personal independence which seems to be the only natural one, but which is usually the last precious fruit of public civilization. It is true the Christian religion has been bent down to the level of ignorance and barbarity; has been made subservient to the selfish designs and violent passions of those who have called themselves its servants, and has been forced to pass, like institutions that are merely human, through those degrees of reformation in practice that wait upon time and accident: but in itself it has always been the same, and even when employed as the instrument of fraud and outrage, it has been the effectual enemy of both. Its maintenance, even for unworthy purposes, and under strange disguises, has provided for the best results. Although often chained to the ear of cruelty, it has never ceased to bear upon its motion with an influence tending to incline it into the paths of mercy and of peace.

But, although we are of opinion that the Crusades, at the epoch of their occurrence, operated on Europe in a way to put the latent elements of improvement in action, to favour the extrication of the human faculties, and generally speaking to impel a further development of the capacities of society, we cannot but regard as great and heinous, the error of those who have celebrated them as virtuous and honourable exploits, adorning the characters of the individuals who were engaged in them. It seems clear that the tenderness of conscience, and the certainty of faith, inspired their followers in a great number of instances, but the picture which their history presents is almost exclusively occupied with atrocity, deception, and absurdity, displaying themselves in the destruction of millions of individuals, in deserts, murders, treasons, and obscenities, in the munificence of superstition, and the cruelties of the most intolerant bigotry. "Our soldiers," says Stephen, Earl of Chartres and Blois, one of the most accomplished and excellent men of the age, "march under the immediate protection of the Almighty" (they perished by thousands after committing the most enormous crimes), whereas the Turks are accursed and devoted by Heaven to destruction. At the siege of Ptolemais, both parties occasionally burnt their prisoners: "When our soldiers thus perished," says William of Tyre, "the flames that consumed their bodies served to light their souls to heaven; but when the accursed Saracens were bound to the pile by our brave army, the flame on earth joined itself to that which received them on leaving it." When the Christians, after suffering and inflicting the most fearful calamities, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, they thanked God in the most solemn manner for this visible proof given in the face of the universe, that he approved of their enterprise; and after this act of public devotion, they held a consultation, at which it was decreed that all the Musselmanns in the place should be massacred! When Jerusalem was retaken by Saladin, the exultation of the Musselmanns equalled what had been shown by the Catholics, nor were they less assured of the indication. They offered public prayers to God, that he might watch over the days of the Sultan; "since he had been thus undeniably used as the two-edged sword of the Almighty;" since he was, "in the eye of the universe, the resplendent star of the faith, beaming on mankind.—the defender of the only true worship,—the liberator of the sacred abode."

Such deplorable facts can have no tendency to unsettle the religious belief that rests on sound evidence and virtuous principles;—but they prove the danger of that declamation which we find in Catholic sermons and histories, which is necessarily connected with the foundation of their pretensions, and calculated to lead the followers of that persuasion to give a rein to their worst passions, in assuring their own minds, and proclaiming to their neighbours, that they are discharging their most sacred duties. M. Chatenubriand, in his animated account of his Journey to Jerusalem, tells his readers that he experienced a sudden glow of enthusiasm, when he recollects that he was perhaps tracing on the Holy Land the very footsteps of the gallant and glorious Montfort. "In virtue," says this Peer of France, "I do not equal him, but in faith I do." The principal achievement of the "preux Chevalier," who awakens such pleasing and animating feelings in the mind of M. Chatenubriand, was that of burning alive 20,000 Albigois, whose religion, says Miseri, was an olio formed of all the heresies of their time. They are just now preaching the virtues and pieties of St. Louis in France, and certainly this Monarch is in many respects fairly entitled to his popular reputation: at the same time, we cannot but think that the mild recollections suggested by the life and tenets of the great founder of our religion, would better serve the cause of real devotion in France, which is lament-

ably low, than the stress which its clergy are inclined to lay upon the names and exploits of that numerous and diversified multitude of persons that occupy the muster roll of their saints. The Sire de Joinville, who writes the history of St. Louis, and who was his most intimate and favoured friend, records that this excellent Prince took occasion one day to remark to him, by way of giving him ghostly counsel, that "a Christian ought never to argue with an infidel; the only way," observed his Majesty, "is to thrust your sword into his belly as far as it will go!" Terrible indeed are the consequences, when man, miserable and weak creature as he is, becomes presumptuous enough to overlook or disregard the nature of the means employed to forward an end, the triumph of which, solely perhaps because it is necessary to his self-love and vanity, he chooses to represent as due to truth, justice, virtue, liberty, law, religion, and every other excellent thing which he outrages by his conduct. Fouché, of Nantes, the exterminator of royalists, may fairly be put in parallel with the above royal exterminator of infidels: he thus writes from the streets of Toulon, streaming with blood and strewed with bodies;—"and we also, my friend, we also, have contributed to the taking of Toulon, by offering to the affrighted sight of traitors, the thousand carcases of the perfidious Lyonnais! Let us then be terrible, that we may not be cruel! Let us annihilate with a single blow, to spare ourselves the long torment and trouble of punishing in the style of kings! Let our justice be exercised after the example of nature, let us avenge ourselves as a people, strike like the thunder, and leave not even the cinders of the guilty to disgrace the soil of liberty. **** Adien, my friend; tears of joy run from my eyes, and inundate my heart! We have but one manner to celebrate our victory: we send this evening 230 rebels to perish under the fire of the republican thunder!" The "only way" of treating an infidel, recommended by St. Louis, is just as summary as the "one manner" which Fouché describes as proper to celebrate a republican victory! We have been able, thank God, in this country, to detach both the cause of liberty and that of religion from such abominable methods of success; the consequence is, (we say it with humility) that we have not utterly lost either.

A second party, on the other hand, because religious names and the force of sacred recollections were the rallying sounds and inspirations of the soldiers of the cross, have chosen to represent the Crusades as unmitigated evils; calamities fallen upon Europe to retard its progress, and for a time utterly to destroy its happiness. These reasoners certainly sin in the most against philosophy; while they who praise these celebrated wars as laudable enterprises, commit an outrage on rational morality and the clearest precepts of the Divine law: yet, curiously enough, their most indiscriminating revilers have belonged to what is usually termed the philosophical class, and their most unscrupulous friends, to the devote and severe! The first mistake proceeds from a naturally low mind and weak imagination, engendering prejudices by means of their very poverty, as a miserable habit of body throws out bloated and fiery appearances. The article on the Crusades in the French Encyclopaedia, and Voltaire's remarks on them in his "Philosophical Dictionary," are examples of that narrowness of view, and utter ignorance of the working of the great springs of public order and improvement, which characterize this school of metaphysicians and philanthropists. As prejudice on the one side or the other has so greatly obscured the truth, the question calls for a sober investigation of the nature of the benefit which is fairly to be traced to these events; for even though, as promoters of civilization, we consider their effects as very great, we are inclined to make a deduction from their commonly specified merits, which is important as connected with the principles of modern criticism on matters of taste.

When Gibbon affirms, that "the influence of these Holy Wars rather checked than forwarded the maturity of Europe," it is not easy to divest one's self of the idea that he was led to this conclusion by a polemical, rather than a philosophical feeling of his subject: the more so, as soon afterwards, we find him stating, that these same Crusades were "the chief means of enabling the larger portion of the inhabitants of Europe, who were chained to the soil without freedom, or property, or knowledge," to raise themselves "above the iron weight of a martial aristocracy which crushed every hope of industry and improvement."* It was chiefly, he says, by means of these Crusades which he affirms checked the advance of society, "that those charters of freedom were extorted which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant, and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community." We are here led to ask, with astonishment, by what mischiefs these confessedly great advantages were outbalanced? He tells us, that "the lives and labours of millions, which were buried in the East, would have been more profitably employed in the improvement of their native country: the accumula-

* Gibbon's Decl. and Fall of Rom, cap. c. 61.

ted stock of industry and wealth would have overflowed in navigation and trade; and the Latins would have been enriched and enlightened by a pure and friendly correspondence with the climates of the East!" Nothing, certainly, can be more unphilosophical than these *would-have-beens* of the historian, more especially as in his capacity of prophet, he stands diametrically opposed to himself as a reasoner. With out the effects which he acknowledges the Crusades to have produced, the advantages which he assumes from their non-existence could never have had being. What he asserts would have been without them, could not have been but in consequence of their agency. The disenchantment of the mass of the people must have had place before the lives of men (which he says were so wasted in the Crusades) could be worth much (speaking politically) either to themselves or others; before "industry and wealth" could overflow in navigation and trade; before nations could be "enriched and enlightened" by their correspondence with each other. It is extraordinary indeed, that Mr. Gibbon was not so struck by the force of his own paragraph, as to be sensible that the benefits which he acknowledges to have been derived from the Crusades, are of a far higher and more enduring nature than any other that society can receive: that they form the spring-head of an endless series of benefits; that they belong to the class of great moral causes, the effects of which are all the degrees and varieties of political and social improvement. It would be very idle in a philosopher to say, after the event has happened, that the emancipation of the people of Europe might have been brought about by means of a more gentle kind: this would be pretending to a knowledge which is above his nature, and an insight into the necessary order and connection of things, above even a philosopher's boast. "The Crusades," says Robertson, "seem to be the first event that raised Europe from the lethargy in which it had been long sunk, and that tended to introduce any change in government or in manners." It required a great shock to awaken the world: without a stirring of the stagnant mass, the productive principles of fertility and beauty were unable to manifest themselves. The train being laid, and the dispositions prepared, the subordinate facts may be easily traced in their progress. "All Europe," says the fair and royal Greek historian, the Princess Anna Comnena, "torn up from its foundation, precipitated itself on Asia." Europe at this time, was but a vast field in which brigands and tyrants exercised their violence and cruelty. The right of waging private wars at the pleasure of individuals was regularly acknowledged by the crown: the first magistrate had no powers for the general government of his kingdom; those exercised by the lords over their vassals and slaves were disdainful of law, and unassailable by force. The gates by which individuals might issue from the degraded and tormented body of the people, into a more comfortable and respectable state, were barred and guarded by the most unnatural and atrocious defences. Every consideration of justice and sound policy was barefacedly sacrificed to the lust, pride, avarice, and the cruelty of the nobles. If a Seigneur married into an ignoble family, he was degraded: if by any chance he was degraded for the commission of a crime, his family succeeded to his rank and possession; but if degraded in consequence of having connexion with trade, his family shared his abasement. Such was the state of things in Europe when it received the clearing of which we have been speaking; and it was high time, we think, that the cry of *Dieu le ravi; God wills it!* should be raised. About a million of men are supposed to have perished in the first Crusade, and Gibbon describes this awful massacre as an unmitigated calamity; but, without undervaluing the worth of human blood, we may be permitted, even in such a case, to look at the attendant and future effects of the extermination. Some of them are judiciously enough specified by M. Michaud in the following paragraph:

"In this distant expedition, Europe lost the flower of its population; but it was not, like Asia, the theatre of a bloody and disastrous war, of a war in which nothing was respected, in which towns and provinces were ravaged, at one time by the conquerors, and at another by the vanquished. Whilst the armies which had issued from Europe were spilling their blood in the plains of the East, the West remained in a profound peace. It was regarded as a crime by all Christian people to carry arms in any other cause than that of Jesus Christ. This opinion had a great influence in checking robbery and pillage, and in causing the *Truth of God* to be respected, which was, in the middle ages, the source or the signal of better institutions. Whatever might be the reverses of this Crusade, they were less deplorable than those civil wars, and those plagues of feudal anarchy, that had for so long a time ravaged the countries of the West." (Vol. i. p. 483. 484.)

The feudal lords, in quitting the scenes of their slayings and robberies, generally left better laws behind them than they had observed. In their absence they had no temptation to be unjust; and, unable to enjoy, they became desirous to preserve. We accordingly find some of the Counts, on setting out for the Holy Land, ordering and ordaining, that the peace should for the future be observed towards priests, monks, travellers, and ladies; some went so far as to

say, that those who sought refuge with ladies, should preserve their persons safe, *on paying a ransom*. Others enacted, that the cattle and instruments of husbandry belonging to the rustics, should not from henceforward be seized. From these commencement of reform the previous state of things may be divined! Few of these nobles returned to repeal the gracious enactments which they had left as their farewells: and those who, after an absence of four years, passed in romantic and perilous adventures, again saw their native land, could not well fall to their old barbarous work again immediately. Joy for their safe arrival, and the pleasure they could not but experience in the admiration which they excited, and the congratulations which they received, would beget a better disposition for the moment. Some of them marked their gratitude for services received from their followers during the dangers of the holy war, by enfranchising them from their condition of serfs, and according them fiefs. But, independently of these feelings, the position of things themselves had been altogether changed, and a return to the old order was now impossible. The conduct of the soldiers of the cross in the East had been free even to licence: devotion had been regarded as their privilege rather than their duty. They who, in the Holy Land, pretended to own no master but the Saviour of the World, would not quietly resign themselves again to slavery and oppression on their return to Europe; and their connexions and neighbours would derive protection from their influence. The warriors from the City of the Sepulchre were regarded by the public as saints; and if possessed of any relic borne from the sacred places, were esteemed and treated as superior beings. From these regards arose many interruptions to the power of the nobles: that authority was no longer supreme; people had accustomed themselves to regard higher qualifications; the charm was therefore broken. Further, the *assize* of Jerusalem, or the system of government established for the kingdom in the East, which crowned the military toils of Godefroy of Bouillon, was, as an English author remarks, obviously superior, on the ground of wisdom and liberty, to any form of government then existing in the West. The forward impulse was therefore, now so strong as to be resistless; but the most material circumstance of all, perhaps, yet remains to be noticed. To provide themselves with means of equipment for so long and important an enterprise, many of the nobles had sold their possessions, and for the most trifling considerations.

"Europe," says M. Michaud, "appeared as a land of exile, which all the world hastened to leave; artisans, merchants, and labourers, quitted the professions by which they subsisted, and the barons and lords resigned the domains of their fathers. The lands, the towns, the castles, for which they had waged war among themselves, lost in an instant all their value in the eyes of their possessors, and were ceded for small sums to those whom the grace of God had not touched, who were not called to the happiness of visiting the holy places, and of conquering the Orient. * * * During the whole winter nothing was heard of but preparations for the expedition to the Holy Land: all other work was suspended in town and country. In the midst of the general effervescence, religion alone watched over the public order. * * * All were impatient to sell their possessions; the difficulty was to find purchasers. The crusaders disdained to receive any thing which they could not carry with them; the productions of the earth were disposed of, at the lowest prices, so that abundance was in a moment produced in the midst of scarcity." (Vol. i. p. 411. 414.)

The majority of the nobles who had thus stripped themselves, perished in the Holy Land; they who returned, returned poor and unsupported. They had lost their companions and their wealth. The crown, during their absence, had well improved so favourable an occasion to possess itself of the inheritances of those who had given it so much trouble, and to destroy those usurpations of the feudal lords on which time had almost bestowed a legal sanction. On the other hand, the merchants and working classes had associated themselves together in the towns, and secured charters which gave them the right of exercising municipal jurisdiction: these provided that the spirit of industry should be no longer checked, and the rules of justice no longer grossly violated to their prejudice. It is proper, however, to observe here, that nobility, though thus, from the operation of divers causes, restrained, was by no means degraded. Its members found themselves reduced in a power which they had abused; but they were gainers, by means of the Crusades, in lustre of name and reputation. The aristocracy thus became, in point of fact, the ornamental part of the state: its pride was directed towards glory, instead of exercising itself in rapine and revenge: it became an useful and graceful intermediate body between the people and the crown. In this general revolution, the clergy participated: their wealth and influence were increased:—an evil, without doubt, but not sufficient to outbalance all the good which we have been describing. The riches of the ecclesiastics led to their insolence, and many enormities: yet there is much truth in what M. Michaud remarks on this matter:

"It has often been repeated that the Crusades increased the wealth of the clergy; but it should not be forgotten that the clergy formed at that period the most enlightened part of the nation; the growth of its prosperi-

ty, therefore, was in the nature of things. It is certain that the lights of knowledge and learning were introduced into Europe by the clergy. While this body assisted the progress of civilization, it preserved its wealth: when it permitted itself to be surpassed by the spirit of the age, its possessions and authority were lost. In this way the affairs of the world proceed. When institutions are favourable to the wants of society, they are revered; when they become less useful, they lose their importance. There is no necessity for declaiming; we may leave these matters to the ingratitudes which is so natural to the people, to their inconstancy, and to time. All these are but too dexterous to break those instruments of which the public has served itself with advantage." (Vol. i. p. 490, 491.)

Such is one view of the general emancipation and advancement produced by that convulsive agitation which society felt throughout its frame, when the enthusiasm of the Crusades was inspired into all classes of the people of Europe; but, in descending to particulars we cannot but think that certain authors have traced to them benefits which they neither have produced, nor were calculated to produce. In an introduction to the literary history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is observed, with reference to these Holy Wars, as they were called, that "it becomes interesting to consider how the ignorance and fanaticism of the age, under the hand of Providence, were preparing for the triumph of learning and religion." It appears to us, we confess, that it would be difficult to show, how either learning or religion experienced any benefit that can directly be traced to these enterprises; and on this point of the argument, therefore, we lean more to the opinion of Gibbon than of Robertson, Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," referring to the later days of the Greek empire, speaks of "the restless wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and subtle inventions, which when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language served them readily to make all things fair and plausible to men's understandings." "The Greeks," says Gibbon, with good discrimination, "thought themselves proud, but were only vain." Montesquieu concludes one of his chapters with a beautiful simile: the Roman empire, he observes, the miseries of whose fall he wanted courage to write, having been reduced to the faubourgs of Constantinople, was at length utterly destroyed by its capture; thus finishing its course like the Rhine, which, from a noble river, dwindles to a mere brook before it loses itself in the ocean. At the time of the Crusades, the Greeks were in the last stage of dotage and imbecility, distinguished only by fantastic vice and imbecile presumption. Their history had become a tissue of revolts, seditions, and perfidies, which appeared to have no object but the gratification of folly, and the perpetration of atrocity.

It is from their communication with a people of this description that Dr. Robertson, and some other writers who have followed his system, argue for the improvement of the crusaders in literary taste, scientific knowledge, and elegant manners. We confess we cannot discern cause for thinking, either that in point of fact any such improvement immediately took place, or that it was likely to be occasioned by such a circumstance. In one of the notes to his view of the progress of society in Europe, the historian cites the contempt which the Greeks expressed for the barbarity of the Latins, and the language of wonder and admiration in which some of the Western writers have noticed the curiosities and treasures of Constantinople; these he considers as proving the real and acknowledged superiority of the people of the East. We are not, however, disposed to admit that they prove any such thing. The new-comers might be struck by the sudden view of those mingled monuments of various ages and nations, which the stream of time had cast as wrecks upon this last crumbling point of the ancient world. Some few among them might be astonished at the mighty extent of those accumulated heaps of grandeur, the melancholy state of which gave intimation that the public soul to which they owed their existence was for ever departed;—but for the Greeks themselves, and their national character, the Latins cherished and expressed the most supreme contempt. Nor is it well possible that this should have been otherwise: the weakness, the meanness, the perfidy, and cowardly arrogance which they saw displayed in Constantinople, were calculated to disgust the blunt, hardy, and fierce temper of the Western warriors. It was a very natural consequence that the latter should turn their derision and aversion against the indigencies and emblems of science and literature, the peculiar profession of which they found connected with frivolity and treachery, and whose results they could discover only in fantastic absurdities and pedantic insipidities. We accordingly find that the Franks made an affronting public exposure of an inkhorn and a sheet of paper, to throw ridicule on a people of scribes and scholars; they also melted down the fine brazen statues to supply their military wants, while they sought and seized with an avidity which braved the penalty of death, all the trash of relics, such as fragments of bones, shreds of flannel, and splinters of rotten wood. These were the gentry whom M. Chateaubriand describes as instigated to the holy war by a desire to revenge on the religion of Mahomet its animosity against knowledge and civi-

lant accomplishments! It is curious to follow these defenders of science and taste in their exploits in favour of both. Having been diverted from the legitimate object of their enterprise, and having made themselves masters of Constantinople after intermeddling in a Greek quarrel, in spite of the prohibition of the Pope, the massacre and destruction continued for many days, with almost unexampled fury. Nicetus, the Greek historian, has left us the most touching account of this tremendous event, in which he was himself a victim; his account of the escape of his family through the crowd of brutal and drunken soldiers, one of whom tore from the arms of her father a shrieking girl, is one of the most affecting pieces of history. After this we can well excuse the oriental indignation of the following paragraph in his narration: "This, then, is what they promised us,—these gold-iced collars, these disdainful tempers, these elevated eyebrows, these shaven beards; this people with hands ready to shed blood, with nostrils respiration rage, with a proud eye, and a cruel spirit, and a pronunciation so thick and precipitate!"

"Constantinople," says M. Michaud, "which up to this time had remained standing amidst the ruins of empires, had gathered together all the remains of art, and yet displayed its master-pieces saved from time and the barbarians. The bronze, where breathed the genius of antiquity, was delivered over to the furnace, and converted into money, to satisfy the avidity of the soldiers. The heroes and gods of the Nile, those of ancient Greece, of old Rome, the Productions of Praxiteles, of Phidias, and of the most celebrated artists, now fell under the blows of the conqueror." (Vol. iii. p. 201.)

Nicetus, in recording this destruction, and describing its objects, is full of pathetic enthusiasm, although sometimes, it must be owned, a little defective in his taste.

"What shall I say of Helen!" he exclaims: "She with arms whiter than snow, with dainty feet, with a neck of alabaster: the Helen who collected all Greece before Troy; who caused the downfall of that city; who from the shores of Troy passed to those of the Nile, and from thence returned in fine to Lacedaemonia! Was she able to assuage these inexorable men, to soften these hearts of iron? No, she had not that power; she, whose beauty charmed every spectator, whose array was so magnificent; who, even in bronze, was full of soft languor; whose tonic, whose veil, whose diadem, whose tresses elegantly curled, all breathed delight. But language cannot describe or transmit to posterity the charm of her look, the finely designed arch of her eyebrows, the graces which illustrated all her person. But alas! Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, rich in natural beauty, work of the loves, object of the cares of Venus, the most admirable present of nature the price of victory proposed to the Greeks and to the Trojans, where are now thy remedies and thy philtres, the effect of which it was impossible to resist? Why dost thou not now employ them as heretofore? Ah, I see that it is thy inevitable destiny to become a prey to the flames; thou, whose image only was sufficient to kindle the flames of love in all who contemplated it!"

Such is the language of Eastern admiration, grief, and indignation. Italian genius has taken a different view of the melancholy fate of Constantinople. The following lines allude to the backwardness of the Greek emperors to engage in the quarrel between the Crusaders and the Saracens:

"Yet satest thou an idle looker on,
And glad attended which side won or lost;
Now if thou be a bond slave vile become,
No wrong is that, but God's most righteous doom!"

While the soldiers were destroying the monuments of genius, the priests, monks, pilgrims, and commanders, were eagerly occupied in searching out what were the veritable treasures of Constantinople in their eyes. The Abbot Martin-litz, a "holy man," rushing into a church, surprised a poor Greek priest weeping in prayer over the ruins of his country and his religion. Martin seized him by the throat, and threatened to murder him out of hand if he did not instantly declare where the relics of the place were concealed. In this way the Abbot was enabled to excite the admiration of devout persons on his return to Europe, by displaying a morsel of the true cross, some of the bones of Saint John the Baptist, and, what was still more valuable, a complete arm of Saint James. A German ecclesiastic recounts this exploit with admiration; he dwells upon it enthusiastically, and seems to accuse fate for having denied him an opportunity of partaking in such glorious enterprises, and of making such invaluable acquisitions: according to him, the angels were appointed to watch over this great treasure, while the Abbot was secretly conveying it from the East. The tempests of the sea, he says, were kept still by divine intercession; pirates were withheld by an All-powerful arm; and robbers, the terror of travellers in these rude times, felt by an instinct which was supernaturally inspired, that they must not approach the saint or his ill-gotten property. All this while, it may be observed, that strict injunctions had been issued in general orders, that all the relics found on the capture of the city, should be deposited in three particularly specified churches, that there might be a due appropriation made of the sacred spoil; and severe punishments were inflict-

ed on those whose devotion led them to transgress in this respect; and, among others, a chevalier of considerable rank was, for an offence against his orders, hanged, with his shield tied round his neck, to add to the disgrace of the spectacle. Great competition took place among the generals when the reliques came to be divided. Dandolo, the Venetian, could secure only a fragment of the inexhaustible cross. The parties to these gifts were the first men of the age; many of them distinguished by talent; all of them claiming respect, and some reverence! Such was the Christian religion, as it then lay, obscured by the superstitions and errors of the Romish church; and by reference to these woeful facts, we may best calculate the extent of our obligation to the learning, talents, and courage of our illustrious reformers. After the division of the reliques was adjusted, the commanders proceeded to buy, to sell, to gamble for, and to exchange with each other, the kingdoms and cities of the Orient. The bustle of bargains and hazards of this description put the camps in commotion; and the Franks, a people who had not long issued from the deserts of the North, were now to be seen cheapening, staking, and bartering countries, seas, and towns, the names of which suspend over our imagination the shapes of ancient glory, like a train of magnificent clouds, the darkness of which is relieved and ennobled by the golden lustre which they catch from a sun that is no longer visible to those who tread the earth.

It would be difficult, we think, to demonstrate that these crusaders were animated by any very great respect for the arts and sciences, or that they caught an attachment for them from their residence at Constantinople: we are inclined, however, as we have already hinted, to push our argument still further, and to affirm that they could not possibly take any useful lessons from the degenerate people amongst whom they spread additional calamities, and whose final ruin they hastened. As for the self-sufficient assumptions of superiority in which the Greeks indulged, and upon which Dr. Robertson lays stress, we have every day examples before our eyes sufficient to prove that such boastings are very likely to proceed from mere imbecility. The impotence of a deficient understanding, and the effrontery of ignorance, often manifest themselves in pretensions to knowledge; and if we examine those of the Greeks, it will appear that they were of this spurious kind. The Greek Princess and author, Anna Comenæa, who seems to have been a complete *précieuse*, according to Molière's picture of the character, sets no bounds to her disdain of the Western warriors, as far as language is concerned, while at the same time she betrays her fears of them in every line. Their very names, she says, were so coarse and uncooth that no Greek mouth could pronounce them, and she regrets that even their orthography would contaminate the beauty and elegance of her history! It must be confessed she makes sad havoc with these said names: she glories in her blunders, and seems to feel a sentiment of triumph in mutilating the appellations of those great captains who had ravaged her city and slaughtered her countrymen. Catching indignation from her bad spelling, she exclaims, "was it for men with such coarse and barbarous names to become masters of the superb *Byzantium*?" Nicetus inveighs against his conquerors with still more violence: he accuses them of being fond of buttocks of beef and *peas-pudding*! (See one of Gibbon's notes to his chapter on the crusades.) The more elaborate and artificial cookery of the Greek *cuisiniers*, furnished in his opinion a convincing proof of the superiority of his nation: at the same time that he is scandalized by the testimony which the invaders paid to the excellence of the Greek wine; and his disgust would naturally become horror on seeing Alexis, Prince of Constantinople, caught in the stormy vortex of Western jollity, breaking all the rules of Greek politeness, and roaring about the camp of the Latins, to the great amusement of its experienced toppers.

The favorite boast, however, of the Greeks over the Latins had reference to the fine arts; a professed public taste for which is perhaps one of the most suspicious pretensions to refinement that can be made by any people. Poetry and music have direct and easy means of communication with the multitude; but painting and sculpture address their fascinations almost exclusively to the few who possess a rare union of knowledge, habit, and sensibility. Their enjoyment, in proportion as it is exquisite, is recondite and partial. These degenerated Greeks celebrated their collections of monuments in the most forced, silly, and bombastic language. Gibbon, though it is evident he had not devoted himself to the study, could not help observing, that the raptures of their boasted taste were little else than affectation and vanity. The paragraph which we have already quoted from Nicetus is affecting, and even elegant—but it is more inspired by the regret of a Grecian, the witness of his country's ruin, in which his own was involved, than by the passion of a genuine lover and judge of sculpture. In the fragment from which we have extracted it, he bestows his chief admiration on a female figure that turned with the slightest breath of air, and it is the loss of this curiosity that he chiefly deplores. He doubts whether one statue was intended to re-

present Joshua or Bellerephont, and remarks of an eagle, "that it was not only the merit of its workmanship that rendered it so admirable; it had been so placed as to indicate the hour of the day by twelve lines traced on its wings!" These Greeks, indeed, it must be allowed, "preserved with reverence the works of the ancients which they could not imitate," and the crusaders barbarously destroyed them; it is however we think, very clear, that if they had continued to be preserved at Constantinople, the influence of their example would never have been able to display itself above the frivolity, daintiness, and pedantry of the people into whose hands they had fallen. The difference which proceeds from ignorance, is a much more hopeful state of mind than that of a conceited and affected admiration, which perverts and violates the principles of good taste in professing to honour its examples; and which derives from its pretensions to refinement, power and opportunity to corrupt the sensibility which is open to receive the genuine impressions of simplicity, grace, and truth. A spirit of this sort catches at what is trifling in great works, as affording the easiest means of ostentatious display. Hence we have the *dolce* of art, and the tricks and vanities of academicians and connoisseurs, spreading themselves like mildews, and blasting the wholesome and natural crop of genius. On the other hand, from the weakness and ignorance of infancy, the natural progress is to strength, knowledge and maturity. Left fairly to themselves, the faculties of man are free to receive impressions from those generating causes which tend to produce excellence in pursuits adapted to the time and to circumstances. In the hard and stiff monumental figures with which the early European artists embellished their tombs, we may recognise a determination of character, and a reality of intention, which indicate that something better was to follow; that a producing principle was at work, that mind had received an impulse, and was not vainly affecting a taste. The blaze of art and literature, which some time afterward broke out in Europe, succeeding to the ignorance and barbarity of the age of the crusades, would never have been kindled by the dying embers of Constantinople. It is true that the emigration from the East at the subsequent final fall of this capital, is always considered one of the most immediate causes of the revival of letters in the West; and we have no doubt that it had a very material influence in this respect; but the dispersion of the Greek scholars and manuscripts, scattered over Europe like so much seed to take root where the soil might be calculated to receive them, is precisely such an event as, according to the course of nature, was likely to give a genuine stimulus to the uncultivated capacities of the period. This event was likely to operate in a very different way from the influence of the authority of the Greek pedagogues, still assembled in their dusty chairs, with their vanity unbroken. The continued predominance of these would only have restrained those who were destined to outstrip them; would have reduced to the level of state laws and maxims the rising promise of a fresh and new character; and would have probably softened and broken that firm and enterprising disposition which appears so conspicuous in the history of society in these Northern regions, and constitutes so wide a distinction between it and the records of oriental manners and events.

But is it true that an intellectual spirit had not strongly manifested itself among the Western nations before their communication with the Greeks? The reproachful paragraph which we have quoted from Nicetus proves at least that an independent, vigorous, bold, and glorious character belonged to these invaders of his country; he could not so have described a besotted and brutified multitude. It is true that the people of the West could not yet pretend to a very diversified and extensive literature; but they were not without poetry, for they had the effusions of their bards; they were not without devotional writings, nor were they without historical legends. They were not without eloquence to affect, or sensibility to be affected; witness the priest who described the sufferings of our Saviour with such power and pathos, as to draw from the newly-converted Clovis an exclamation more earnest than orthodox:—"Ah, if I had been there with my Franks all that should never have happened!" Witness the effect produced by the exhortations of Peter the Hermit, the first mover of the Crusade, of whose proceedings, and their consequences, our author gives the following account:

"He went from town to town and from province to province, imploring the courage of some and the piety of others; now mounting the pulpits of the churches, and now preaching in the highways, and in the midst of the public places. His eloquence was lively and rapid, full of those vehement apostrophes which seize the multitude. He described to them, from observation, the profanation of the holy places, and the torrents of christian blood which streamed in the streets of Jerusalem. By turns he invoked heaven, the names of the saints, and the angels whom he cited, to witness the truth of his words. He addressed himself to the Hill of Sion, to the Rock of Calvary, to the Mount of Olives, and made them re-echo the doleful sounds of sobbing and of groaning. When he found himself exhausted of language, he lifted on high the cross which he always bore

about with him; he beat his breast with a violence sufficient to create visible wounds, and wept abundantly in the sight of the crowd. * * * The people raised their voices to heaven, entreating the Almighty to cast a regard on his beloved city: some offered their riches, others their prayers; all promised the sacrifice of their lives for the deliverance of the sacred abode." (Vol. i. p. 85 87.)

Equally remarkable was the effect of the eloquence of Pope Urban at the great council held at Clermont; and as his discourse is reported by several historians, we are in this case to judge for ourselves of its merits, and may pronounce it well calculated to excite at any time that extraordinary enthusiasm which its contemporaries unanimously describe:

" In proportion as Urban proceeded, the sentiment by which he was animated penetrated into the souls of his auditors: when he spoke of the thralldom, and of the woes of Jerusalem, the whole assembly burst into tears: when he described the tyranny and the persecutions of the infidels, the warriors who listened to him put their hands to their swords, and swore to revenge the cause of the Christians. Urban yet doubted their enthusiasm, in announcing to them that they were chosen of God to fulfil his designs. He exhorted them to turn against the Mussulman the arms which they had borne against their brothers. The cause was no longer to avenge injuries suffered by men, but those by which Divinity was outraged: it was not the conquest of a town or of a castle that offered itself to their valour, but the riches of Asia, the possession of a land where, according to the promises of the Scripture, streamed rivers of milk and of honey." (Vol. i. p. 97.)

After Urban had ceased to speak, loud acclamations were heard on all sides, and, as if by inspiration, the same words were in every one's mouth; *Dieu le veut! Dieu le veut! It is the will of God!* which became the rallying phrase of the Crusade. From the Tiber to the Ocean, from the Rhine to beyond the Pyrenees, says M. Michaud, the earth was covered with multitudes, sent from their homes by the power of these discourses, and marching for the Holy Land without knowing where to look for it.

" Families, villages entire, set out for Palestine, and carried with them all those whom they met in their passage. They marched without preparation, believing that he who nourished the young birds would not leave the pilgrims, marked with his cross, to perish. Their ignorance added to their illusion, and gave to all which they saw an air of enchantment. They continually supposed themselves to be touching the end of their journey; and the children of the villagers, when the spires of a town, or the turrets of a castle came in sight, demanded with lively joy if that was Jerusalem! Many of the great lords, who had passed their lives in their rustic towers, knew little more than their vassals, and set out carrying with them all their equipage for fishing and hunting, preceded by their packs of hounds, and each bearing a hawk on his wrist!" (Vol. i. p. 116.)

The talents of St. Bernard, however, as a popular exhorter, seem to have surpassed all competition, and his success in working on the susceptibility of his hearers, was out of all proportion greater than that of his predecessors. He well justified the prophecy made at his birth, as we find it recorded in Caxton's Golden Legend, that " he should be a noble preacher, and should gaerish (cure) by the grace of his tongue." Wherever this man went exhorting, the people of all ranks, from princes to peasants, were transported out of themselves. The Emperor of Germany cried out aloud in the church, overcome by his cutting and searching words. An historian of the time says, that he persuaded the Germans, who did not understand his language, so impressive and commanding was his manner; and troops of wild banditti came down from the mountains at his call to dedicate their arms to the service of Christ. On one occasion, so immense was the assembly which his fame had collected, that it was with the greatest difficulty he was rescued from suffocation. Sharing in the general transport caused by the magical eloquence of this ecclesiastic, the fair, but not too faithful Queen of France, Eleanor of Guyenne entered the ranks of the Crusaders at the head of the most beautiful ladies of her court: they took the cross, and armed themselves with sword and lance. The young Queen engaged the most celebrated troubadours and minstrels to attend her to the Holy Land, and crowds of knights engaged themselves under a banner which united the three claims of religion, love, and glory. The historians say, that to quicken some who were backward, an expedient was devised, which is reported to have been employed, perhaps imprudently, at a much more recent period. " Distrails and spindles were sent to those who hesitated to take arms."

A people thus fraught with lively passions, gifted with a susceptible imagination, and accustomed to have these intensely wrought upon by eloquence and poetry, were in a much better way to attain excellence in literature, than any in which Greek instruction or example could put them; and if the effeminate vice and pedantic absurdities of the Greeks had not disgusted their visitors from the West; if the professors of Constantinople had been able to give a taste for their studies and accomplishments to the knights and troubadours of Europe, the effects would have been highly lamentable. We probably had lost for ever that character of romance which stamps with originality and interest the literature which is truly European, and

which distinguishes it from the serene beauty of the standard compositions, as the imagery of the clouds distinguishes our sky from the sky of Greece. But the Latins fortunately experienced no pedantry; they despised the Greeks too much to imitate them; and to this circumstance we owe Dante, and Chaucer, and Ariosto, and Corradi. They could never have come from a Greek stock; and our possession of them ought to give us courage to avow, what is certainly the fact, that it is not possible to trace directly to the Crusades "the triumph of learning," any more than of religion.

Their influence was on the character of society rather than on the attainments of individuals: they may be said to have prepared the ground by loosening it from its hard and bound state, and they thus made it ready to receive and nourish the seed which time and accident were sure to cast within its bosom. They furnish the first instance of the powerful action of public opinion: they afford the first example of princes addressing the people, in a strain indicating their dependence, in the greatest undertakings of the state, on their subjects for support. They furnished the first means of awakening a brutalised and oppressed multitude to a sense of the worth, and consequently of the rights of human nature. This is the good that can fairly be traced to them, and it is essential and durable, providing for all other good that society can either have or hope for. On the other hand, they teach us how liable men are to become the victims of deception, prejudice, and error; they warn us how much we ought to suspect ourselves and others, when confidence in the justice of a cause becomes hostile to the integrity of its means. In fine, they abound with proofs that real charity cannot be wrong; and that severity, when it approaches intolerance, can scarcely fail to be as unjust as impolitic.

The epoch of the holy wars was also that of three institutions which completed the constituted form of the order of nobility, now converted from a rude mass of single tyrants to a balancing body in the state, brilliant in its appearance, and defined in its functions and privileges. These institutions are, 1. The names and armorial bearing of families; 2. Tournaments; 3. The orders of knighthood. The origin of family names is to be traced to the difficulty of distinguishing individuals, in the enormous crowd composed of all the nations of Europe, by proper names which could not but be common to many. Numerous must have been the Guillaumes, the Renauds, the Frederics, amongst the Crusaders: it became indispensable, therefore, that individuals should have distinctive appellations proper to each; one took the name of his estate, another that of the profession or employment of himself or his ancestors. As these means became occupied, or when they were not applicable, distinctions were formed of qualities of character, peculiarities of persons, anecdotes of history, &c. Muratori gives all that is necessary on this interesting point, in tom. viii. 42d dissertation *Dell'origine dei Cognomini*. In the same way armorial bearings resulted from the necessity for having visible distinctive indications of the several commanders in the heat of the battle. Each being closely cased in armour, from top to toe, neither his person nor his features could be recognized. For the purposes therefore of discipline, as well as from the pride of individual prowess, conspicuous emblems were adopted, which testified to the soldiers, amidst the confusion and carnage, who were the chiefs that shared their dangers and animated their bravery. From the nature of their origin they were limited to the highest classes; and the families of these heroic crusaders were eager to adopt, as a credential of their honours, an emblem which owed its birth to the fields of Palestine, and recorded the zeal and courage of a kinsman. It was the shield that usually bore this distinctive sign, and hence it has been called the arms. The devices were often allegorical; flowers, fruits, and animals were chosen that bore some real or fanciful connexion with the military qualities of fortitude, swiftness, sagacity or vigilance. Often too the image had a reference to the secret affections of the chevalier.

The institution of tournaments took its rise from the military habits of the crusades, which before their conclusion became characterized by a taste for that Oriental Magnificence which Saladin displayed to his dazzled and admiring enemies. These splendid games contributed very materially to give distinction to the nobility; for none were admitted to take a part in them who could not sustain a vigorous examination of the proofs of their noble birth; besides which there was at first exacted a testimonial to character, vouching for the candidate's virtue, honourable deportment, and devotion to the fair.

The orders of chivalry were, in their commencement, institutions formed to meet the wants of the moment, associations religious and military, the members of which bound themselves to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Land. Being, however, conformable to the spirit of the times, they extended their character, and developed further their functions. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem were at first but simple *hospitallers*, who gave refuge to the sick and weary pilgrims, and at the same time protected them by their courage. The monks of

the hospital on Mount St. Bernard are the nearest approach to this sort of character which time and revolutions have left us. This order soon became powerful and splendid; and possessed itself of the Isle of Cyprus in sovereignty. After losing Cyprus, Charles V, probably with the view of protecting Naples, ceded to them Malta, under the condition of waging perpetual war against the infidels. That they scrupulously fulfilled this engagement, is proved by their history; and this order the eldest of all, has also been the longest lived. It continued even to our days, a monument of old times, and the most singular constitution of modern Europe, until the French Revolution dispersed and destroyed it, as well as many other memorials of days gone by. The unfortunate fraternity of the Templars, so proud and powerful, and so wretched in its mysterious fate, was of the same nature, and included the most gallant and noble persons of Europe. As such institutions, when they waxed strong, and extended themselves, became necessarily in a great measure independent of their governments, and as bodies, capable even of being employed against them, it is not astonishing that they should incur the hate of absolute monarchs; and it is to this jealousy, probably, that we are to attribute the massacre of the Templars. The Teutonic order was, as the name imports, German; its chief object was to clear away the pagan tribes that still rested in certain parts of Germany. Prussia was then possessed by these barbarians; they were, however, exterminated by these chevaliers, who may be considered as the real founders of the Prussian monarchy. Of all these orders, so distinguished in their day, the name scarcely now remains; and the imitations of knighthood which still exist, do little more than remind us, that its glory is departed.

As it may be expected of us, before concluding, to offer at least a specimen of the matter contained in these volumes, we shall abridge the circumstances attending the arrival of the crusaders before Jerusalem, and the facts of its capture.

The army advanced from Antioch, during the siege of which it had sustained the most dreadful sufferings, and committed the most horrible cruelties. It appeared, from a muster made by the order of the chiefs, that it had lost 200,000-men since its departure from Constantinople, and the remnant did not now exceed 50,000. On its arrival at Emmaus, it was met by some poor Christians from Bethlehem, who told of their miseries, and solicited protection. Moved by this spectacle, Tancred, the most amiable of the knights, set out in the middle of the night with a detachment of 300 men, and planted the banner of the cross on the walls of Bethlehem at the hour of the birth of the Saviour, when he was announced to the shepherds of Judea. It was the break of day, on the 10th June, 1099, that the crusaders caught the first sight of the holy city, the great object of all their toils, the one idea in the minds of the devout, the ambitious, the generous, and the interested.

"Ecco apparis Gierusalem si vede!
Ecco additar Gierusalem si scorge!
Ecco da mille voci unitamente
Gierusalemme salutar sidente!"

"The first of the soldiers who perceived the city (says M. Michaud), shouted together *Jerusalem! Jerusalem!* They who marched in the hinder ranks, rushed forward when they heard the cry, to view the object of all their wishes. *It is the will of God! It is the will of God!* was repeated by the whole army, and their words came back to them again in echoes from the mountains of Sion and Olives, which now rose full in the view of the crusaders. The knights alighted from their horses and marched barefooted. Some threw themselves upon their knees; others kissed the ground which had been honoured by the presence of their Saviour. In their transports they passed by turns from joy to grief, and from grief to joy. All renewed the vow which they had so often made, to rescue the holy city from the yoke of the Mussulmans." (Vol. i. p. 376.)

Enthusiasm at the sight of Jerusalem, is a homage more naturally arising out of the feelings and opinions of mankind, than any other tribute of respect and sensibility paid, at the recollection of celebrated names and events, to the spot of their recurrence. It has been equally acknowledged by persons of the most opposite character and nations. In this respect it possesses an honour above that of Rome itself, whose influence on the emotions is infinitely more limited, and with few probably so keen. The Mussulmans, in regard to Jerusalem, feel as the Christians. One of their writers says, "The aspect of this city is very fine; above all, when it is seen from the mountain of Olives. When the pilgrim arrives before its walls, and sees its buildings close to him, his heart is filled with inexpressible joy, and he easily forgets all the fatigues of his journey." Hafiz, the son of Hadjar, gave vent to his feelings in extemporaneous poetry, of which the following is something like a translation. "When we approached the holy city our Lord sheaved us Jerusalem; we had suffered much, but we now felt as if we were entering into heaven." The language in which an early Christian writer describes the transports of the Crusaders, is certainly not so judicious: "they were as

glad," he says, "as if they had seen the body of Christ hanging on the cross before their eyes!"

At the approach of the Christian army, some of the infidels sallied forth from the city to observe the march and plans of the enemy: they were repulsed by Baudouin de Bourg, and by Tancred. The latter, who on all occasions appears to have been animated by the most romantic and generous sense of the enterprise in which he was engaged, quitted his companions and ascended alone the Mount of Olives, where he contemplated all his leisure the holy city, so long promised, as he believed, to the arms and prayers of the Crusaders. He was troubled, but not daunted, in his pious reverie, by five Mussulmans, three of whom he killed, and compelled the remaining two to fly. This incident, of which Tasso has made use, is to be found recorded in the contemporary historians. On his return, he found the army advancing without order in its enthusiasm, and singing joyfully those fine words of Isaiah "Awake! Awake! put on thy strength, O Zion! put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem! for henceforward there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean!" The whole body of the Crusaders made a circuit of the city, halting at all the holy places of the environs, walking barefooted, the head uncovered, and singing canticles, and offering up prayers. When they had completed its circumference, a sermon was preached to them from the spot of our Saviour's ascension, which commands, as has already been said, noble view of the city. Here Tancred and Raymond, who had long been at variance, embraced each other, and were reconciled before all the soldiers. On its return to the camp, the army watched the whole night; the ecclesiastics passing it in prayer, the military in confession, while at a distance in Jerusalem was heard the voice of the Mahomedan cryer, who summoned the faithful followers of Mahomed to prepare also by devotion for the approaching awful struggle. It was indeed awful, and its consequences still more so. The battle raged for two days before the Crusaders forced their way into the city; and the historians of the time remark that they entered it on a Friday, at three o'clock of the afternoon, being the day and the hour of the crucifixion. The massacre continued for seven days, and, in a letter written to the Pope by the Bishop of Pisa, and the leader of the Christian army, his holiness was desired to be satisfied, for in the portico of Solomon's temple (the Porch of Omar) the blood of the infidels mounted to the knees of the Christians' horses! The pitiless slaughter was for an instant suspended to perform a solemn act of public devotion; after which, horrible to tell, it was recommenced, and the city which had resounded with the voice of prayer and praise, now echoed from all its corners the shrieks and groans of infants and women, who, as well as men, were all alike put to the edge of the sword. A regular sentence of death was passed in the council of the army against all the Mussulmans remaining in the town and this singular document yet exists in its official shape. The Jews were burnt in their synagogue: mountains of bodies accumulated in the streets: Tancred alone opposed himself to this cruelty, and for a long time without success. At length, when seven dreadful days had elapsed, the murderers became wearied, and in some measure sated; and the chief issued orders to spare the few of the inhabitants which yet remained, and to clear the town of the carcasses. In this service the poor prisoners were employed; "they wept," says an old historian, "and carried outside the walls the mangled bodies of their friends and brothers."

Such a history makes one feel lost in the inconsistencies and incomprehensibilities of human nature: it tempts one to ask, what security in regard to his fellows, and what confidence in himself, can rationally belong to a being, whose tenderest, purest, and most exalted emotions, are thus liable to receive their excitement from bare-faced cruelties, and absurdities that disgust the commonest apprehension, when a change of circumstances has taken place? The eloquence of piety, of patriotism, of conscientious feeling, and anxious philanthropy, has never flowed with more unctuous softness, or poured with more irresistible force, than when employed in favour of the criminal and fatal designs of prejudiced ignorance, crafty selfishness, and barbarous ambition. If it were the judgment only that were liable to be thus led astray and duped, the discouragement would not be so great, for the inadequacy of the understanding is neither so alarming nor so mortifying, as the perversion of the affections of the heart; but these latter take a very prominent place in the "varied picture of the wanderings of the human mind."

Let us not, however, throw the blame of such barbarities on the Christian religion. That heavenly faith has every where produced human improvement: where it has been unknown, man has been the scourge of man; where it has been established, his cruelties have been restrained, and have gradually ceased: but in those unhappy regions which have not yet heard "the glad sound," the charities of man's nature are still overwhelmed by his passions.

Select Poetry.

(From the Poems of James Montgomery, Esq. London, 1819.)

INSTRUCTION.

From heaven descend the drops of dew,
From heaven the gracious showers,
Earth's winter-aspect to renew,
And clothe the spring with flowers;
From heaven the beams of morning flow,
That melt the gloom of night;
From heaven the evening breezes blow
Health, fragrance, and delight.
Like genial dew, like fertile showers,
The words of wisdom fall,
Awaken man's unconscious powers,
Strength out of weakness call:
Like morning beams they strike the mind,
Its loveliness reveal;
And softer than the evening wind,
The wounded spirit heal.
As dew and rain, as light and air,
From heaven Instruction came;
The waste of Nature to repair,
Kindle a sacred flame,
A flame to purify the earth,
Exalt her sons on high,
And train them for their second birth,
—Their birth beyond the sky.
Albion! on every human soul,
By thee be knowledge shed,
Far as the ocean-waters roll,
Wide as the shores are spread:
Truth makes thy children free at home;
Oh! that thy flag, unfurl'd,
Might shine, where'er thy children roam,
Truth's banner round the world.

TO BRITAIN.

I love Thee, O my native Isle!
Dear as my Mother's earliest smile;
Sweet as my Father's voice to me
Is all I hear, and all I see,
When, glancing o'er thy beauteous land,
In view thy *Public Virtues* stand,
The guardian angels of thy coast,
Who watch the dear *Domestic Host*,
The *Heart's Affections*, pleased to roam
Around the quiet heaven of home.
I love Thee,—when I mark thy soil
Flourish beneath the peasant's toil,
And from its lap of verdure throw
Treasures, which neither India know.
I love Thee,—when I hear around
Thy looms, and wheels, and anvils sound,
Thine engines heaving all their force,
Thy waters labouring on their course,
And arts, and industry, and wealth,
Exulting in the joys of health.
I love Thee,—when I trace thy tale
To the dim point where records fail;
Thy deeds of old renown inspire
My bosom with our fathers' fire;
A proud inheritance I claim
In all their sufferings, all their fame;
Nor less delighted when I stray
Down history's lengthening, widening way,
And hail Thee in thy present hour,
From the meridian arch of power,
Shedding the lustre of thy reign,
Like sunshine, over land and main.
I love Thee,—when I read the lays
Of British bards in elder days,
Till, rapt on visionary wings,
High o'er thy cliffs my spirit sings;
For I, among thy living choir,
I, too, can touch the sacred lyre.
I love Thee,—when I contemplate
The full-orb'd grandeur of thy state;

Thy laws and liberties, that rise,
Man's noblest works beneath the skies,
To which the pyramids were tame,
And Grecian temples bow their fame:
These thine immortal sages wrought
Out of the deepest mines of thought;
These, on the scaffold, in the field,
Thy warriors won, thy patriots seal'd;
These, at the parricidal pyre,
Thy martyrs sanctified in fire,
And, with the generous blood they spilt,
Wash'd from the soil their murderers' guilt;
Cancell'd the curse which vengeance sped,
And left a blessing in its stead.
—Can words, can numbers count the price,
Paid for this little paradise?
Never, oh! never be it lost;
The land is worth the price it cost.

I love Thee,—when thy sabbath dawns
O'er woods and mountains, dales and lawns,
And streams, that sparkle while they run,
As if their fountain were the sun:
When, hand in hand, thy tribes repair,
Each to their chosen house of prayer,
And all in peace and freedom call
On Him, who is the Lord of all.

I love Thee,—when my soul can feel
The seraph-ardours of thy zeal:
Thy charities, to none confined,
Bless, like the sun, the rain, the wind;
Thy schools the human brute shall raise,
Guide erring youth in wisdom's ways,
And leave, when we are turn'd to dust,
A generation of the just.

I love Thee,—when I see Thee stand
The hope of every other land;
A sea-mark in the tide of time,
Rearing to heaven thy brow sublime;
Whence beams of gospel-splendour shed
A sacred halo round thine head;
And gentiles from afar behold,
(Not as on Sinai's rocks of old,)
GOD,—from eternity conceal'd,—
In his own light, on Thee reveal'd:

I love Thee,—when I hear thy voice
Bid a despairing world rejoice,
And loud from shore to shore proclaim,
In every tongue, Messiah's name;
That name, at which, from sea to sea,
All nations yet shall bow the knee.

I love Thee:—next to heaven above,
Land of my Fathers! Thee I love;
And, nail thy slanderers as they will,
"With all thy faults, I love Thee still."

TO ENGLAND, EUROPE'S GLORY.

(By another hand.)

There is a land amidst the waves,
Whose sons are fam'd in story,
Who never were, nor will be slaves,
Nor shrink from death and glory:—
Then strike the harp, and sound the shells,
With flowing bowls before ye,
Here's to the land where Freedom dwells,
To England—Europe's Glory.
Blest land, beyond all lands afar!
Encircled in the waters,—
With lion-hearted sons in war,
And Beauty's peerless daughters:—
Go ye, whose discontented hearts,
Disdain the joys before ye,
Go seek a home in foreign parts,
Like England—Europe's Glory.
Whether in sultry climes ye rove,
A solitary stranger—
Or seek the foreign fair-one's love,
Where lurk deceit and danger—
Where will ye find domestic bliss,
With social sweets before ye—
A land so great, so good as this,
As England—Europe's Glory?

TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.

Holy Land.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM having received, by the arrival of the Rochester from England, satisfactory intelligence of the Manuscript and Drawings of his TRAVELS in PALESTINE having safely reached his Bookseller, Mr. Murray, of Albemarle Street, London,—the Originals by Eneas Mackintosh, Esq. and the Duplicates by Capt. George Sydenham, of the Indian Army,—he embraces the earliest occasion of informing those who have done him the honour to patronize this Work, that Mr. Murray hopes to effect its publication in December of the present year.

At the suggestion of several of his Friends, he is induced at the same time to reprint the Prospectus of the Work, originally published in October, 1818, for the satisfaction of those to whom this Paper did not then reach; as well as for the information of the many to whom it is not likely to have been known, from the constant and perpetual changes occurring in Indian society.

PROSPECTUS

OR

TRAVELS IN PALESTINE,

Dedicated, by Express Permission,

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, K. G.
GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA,
&c. &c. &c.

By J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

This Work will be printed in the best manner, and on the finest Paper, at one of the first London Presses.

It will be comprised in Thirty Chapters, making two Quarto Volumes, of about four hundred pages each, including the Notes and Illustrations.

The Embellishments will consist of Thirty Vignette Engravings, to be placed at the heads of Chapters, chiefly from original Drawings, and always illustrative of subjects treated of in the text. Besides these, will be given Thirty large Engravings, either for an Atlas, or to be bound up with the Volumes. These will consist of original Maps of the country described; general and particular Plans of ruined Cities and their Edifices, drawn expressly for the Work; as well as some very beautiful and accurate Views in Palestine, and delineations of the Monuments of that Country, from the pencil of a celebrated Artist; and a Portrait of the Author, in the costume of Turkish Arabia, from an original Miniature.

The superior manner in which it is proposed to have this Work printed, as a specimen of the highest style of typographical excellence, and the great number of the Engravings which will be executed by the first Artists of our country, must necessarily involve expence.

The price to Subscribers has been fixed, however, at the lowest estimated standard of Six Gold Mohurs, the half of which is to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the Book.

Subscriptions will be received at the undermentioned houses of Agency in India: and with a view to furnish his Friends with the earliest Copies as well as with proof impressions of the Plates, the Author pledges himself for the punctual delivery of the Work, in the order in which the names shall appear in the List of Subscribers, as well as to annex a Copy of that List to the publication:

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Heads of Chapters, with the Division of Subjects.

VOL. I.

1. Voyage by Sea, from Alexandria in Egypt to Tyre in Phenicia.
2. Description of Tyre, and discussion of the question as to its insular or continental Situation.
3. Journey from Tyre, by the Promontorium Album, and Scala Tyriorum, to Acre.
4. Description of the town and port of Acre, with a history of the last moments of its Tyrant, Jezzar Pasha.
5. Journey from Acre, through the hills of Galilee, to Nazareth, the place of our Saviour's residence.
6. Ascent to the summit of Mount Tabor, and description of the commanding prospect from thence.
7. Visit to Mount Carmel, and Journey from thence by Athlete and Dora to the ruins of the celebrated Cesarea by the sea-side, and Antipatris in the plain.
8. Stay at Jaffa, and enquiries into the disputed massacre of the Turks by Buonaparte, at that place.
9. Journey to Ramlah, by the Fountain of Perseus and Andromeda.
10. Route across the Plain of Sharon, and through the mountains of Juden, to Jerusalem.
11. Visit to all the principal Monuments of Antiquity, both Jewish and Roman, near Jerusalem.
12. Interview with an Abyssinian family of distinction, on pilgrimage; Excursion to Bethlehem, and visit to the Cave of our Saviour's nativity.
13. Visit to the Sealed Fountain of Solomon, to which he compares his Beloved in the Canticles.
14. Examination of the interior of Jerusalem, with an account of the present state of religion, society, manners, &c. in that city.
15. Visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, including the Scene of the Crucifixion and the real Tomb of Christ.
16. Retrospective view of Jerusalem, with a comparison between its ancient and modern state; Enquiries into the site of Mount Zion and Calvary, and a dissertation on the changes which this city has undergone.

VOL. 2.

17. Journey from Jerusalem to Jericho, with a description of the ruins of that city.
18. Passage of the River Jordan near Gilgal, and observations on the country in the vicinity of that stream.
19. Journey through the Mountains of Gilead, and hospitable reception among the Arab tribes there.
20. Departure from the Arab camp, and first approach to the ruined city of Geraza.
21. Description of the ruins of Geraza, with details of all the splendid monuments of this Roman city of the Decapolis.
22. Journey from Soof to Oom Kais, with observations on the surprising beauty and fertility, and the grand and magnificent scenery, of the land of Bashan.
23. Examination of the ruined city of Gamala, one of the Roman Decapolis, with its curious Tombs and numerous Sarcophagi.
24. Passage of the River Hieromax, and return across the Jordan, by Mount Tabor, to Nazareth.
25. Journey by the plains of Zabulon and Galilee to Tiberias.
26. Excursion along the shores of the Lake of Genesareth, by Migdol, to the ruins of Capernaum.
27. Description of the town of Tiberias, and its celebrated Baths, with enquiries into the site of Tarichea.
28. Journey by the plain of Esdraelon, and Jeneen, to the Castle of Sanhoor; with a visit to the ruins of Sebaste, the ancient Samaria.
29. Visit to Schechem or Neapolis, and the Well at which Jesus is said to have talked with the woman of Samaria; with a description of Mount Ebel and Mount Gerizim, the points of dispute between the Jews and Samaritans.
30. Return from Neapolis, by a varied route to Sanhoor, and from thence to Nazareth.

On announcing to the Public a new Volume of Travels through a country apparently so well known as Palestine, some explanation is due to those who may honour this Work with their patronage.

The Authors who have written in illustration of this small portion of the globe, from Benjamin of Tudela and Sir John Mandeville, down to Dr. Clarke and M. Chateaubriand, may be thought to have so completely exhausted the subject as to have left nothing new to be observed or recorded by future Travellers.

The Itineraries of Catholic Devotees have furnished the most ample details regarding the Sanctuaries and Holy Places; and the

names of Phocas, Quaresmians, and Adrichomius, are associated with these early labours. The extended Journeys of Protestant Scholars have enlarged our acquaintance with objects of more general enquiry; and the names of Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, stand pre-eminent among these. The profound Researches both of English and French writers have laid open all the stores of learning in illustration of the ancient Geography of Judea; and the works of Reland and D'Anville, are monuments of erudition and sagacity that would do honour to any country. While the labours of very recent Travellers would seem to close the circle of our enquiries, by the pictures which they have given, of the general state of manners, and the present aspect of the country.

Yet among all those who have made the Holy Land the scene of their Researches, there has not been one who did not conceive that he was able to correct and add to the labours of his predecessors; and indeed who did not really notice something of interest which had been disregarded before. It is thus that Dr. Clarke expresses his doubts and disbelief at every step, and attempts to refute, with indignation, authorities which Travellers of every age had hitherto been accustomed to venerate. And it is thus, too, that Chateaubriand confesses, with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundreds of volumes on the country he came to visit, they had given him no accurate conceptions of what he subsequently beheld for himself.

I come before the world, like those who have preceded me, with a profession of dissatisfaction at the incompleteness of all that has been written before, and in the belief and presumption that I may be able to add something new and interesting to the general fund of human knowledge, and more particularly to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea.

As the cradle of our religion, and the scene of all that is venerable in Holy Writ; as the birth-place of classic fable, interwoven with Phoenician history; as a theatre of the most heroic exploits, during the Jewish, the Roman, and the Saracenian wars; as a field moistened with the best blood of our ancestors, in the wild and romantic age of the Crusades; and even now, at the present hour, as a fair and lovely portion of the earth, still favoured with the dews of heaven, and blessed with the most benignant sky; it is impossible to pass through it with indifference, and equally so not to set some value on the impressions which such objects and such recollections excite.

It will be expected that I should say something of my qualifications to execute the task of giving these impressions to the world in a manner that may deserve its notice.

As far as my earliest recollections guide me, the desire of visiting distant regions was, even in infancy, the prominent one of my heart. At the early age of nine years, the gratification of this passion was promised to me by embarking as a Sailor on an element that had more charms for me than terrors. At the age of ten, I was made a prisoner of war; and it being the period of the French Revolution, in which the Spaniards were the Allies of the French, in 1796, I was conveyed with my ship-mates to the port of Corunna.

After a confinement of some time there, we set out on our march towards Lisbon; and at this tender age, tho' I was exposed to the inclemency of the autumnal rains, often sleeping in the open air, scaling rugged and snow-clad mountains barefoot, and subject to all the privations of a prisoner in a foreign land, the charm of novelty, and the fascinating beauties of nature which presented themselves alternately in their wildest, their loveliest, and their most romantic forms, made me forget that I was a captive, and often occasioned my young heart to bound with joy, under trials which without such enthusiasm to support them would have broken the stoutest spirit.

This infant passion was strengthened rather than subdued by my Journey thro' the finest parts of Spain and Portugal; and since that period, a series of voyages to America, the Bahama Islands, and the West Indies, while they furnished fresh food for enquiry, strengthened more and more the ardent passion for discovery and research.

The Mediterranean next became the scene of my wanderings. Those who have had an early love of classic literature, and a veneration for all that illustrates it, can alone tell what are the feelings excited by a first view of objects which were before known to us only from books, and of countries renowned in the pages of the admirable historians of antiquity. The elegant poetry of Lord Byron is full of them; and tho' it belongs only to a genius like his to express those feelings well, yet men of humbler talents may and do experience them with equal force.

From the moment of my passing within the portals of Calpe and Abyla, and seeing those pillars of Hercules recede behind my vessel, Egypt, Greece, Phoenicia, Palestine, Italy, and Mauritania, all opened at once upon my view. The desire of visiting them I had always felt; this desire was now nurtured into hope; and from that moment

I constantly believed I should tread most of the scenes which I have since trodden, and behold with delight the objects which I had so long contemplated with admiration.

It was now that I applied myself with more than common ardour to the reading of every book within my reach that was likely to extend my knowledge of the interesting countries by which I was on all sides surrounded; and unfavorable as the incessant duties and the hardy life of a Sailor are to such studies, every moment that I could spare from the vigilant watch which squalls, and storms, and pirates, and more open enemies, constantly demanded, and from all the complicated claims which commerce and navigation enforced on my attention, was given to study.

Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the Islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the Gulf of Smyrna, gave me only a foretaste, but certainly a most delicious one, of what was yet reserved for me to enjoy.

Alexandria at length received me into her port: and the Pharos, the Catacombs, Cleopatra's Obelisk, and Pompey's Pillar, were all objects of youthful veneration which I now beheld with correspondent pleasure.

I ascended the Nile, with the *Odyssey* and *Telemache* in either hand; and Homer and Fenelon never interested me more than upon the banks of this sacred stream.

The proud capital of the Khalife, "Misr, the Mother of the World," "Kahira, the Victorious," placed me amid the scenes of Oriental story. The venerable Pyramids carried me back to the obscurity of ages which are immemorial. The ruins of Heliopolis inspired the recollections of Pythagoras, and the Grecian sages who had studied in its colleges: and the Hall of Joseph brought the history of Abraham and his posterity, of Moses and Pharaoh, and of all the subsequent events that befel the race of Israel, before my view.

My attention was now directed towards India, in consequence of a strong desire which the government and the mercantile community of Egypt had to renew their ancient intercourse with that country by way of the Red Sea. I was chosen as an agent in the work, and embarked in it. In the mean time it was represented to me as desirable that a more competent knowledge of the navigation of this Sea should be obtained, and as the task required only duties which were familiar to me I set out to accomplish it.

With this view I ascended the Nile to Keneh, in order to cross over from thence to Kosseir, having with me excellent instruments for nautical purposes. I did not pass Hermopolis and Antinoë, Panopolis and Abydos, Diopolis and Tentyra, without an enthusiastic and I may say a minute examination of their fine remains. I was near to Coptos; but Thebes, Hermontis, Elythia, Apollinopolis, Ombos, and Syene, with the cataracts of Philoe and Elephantina, were still beyond me; the passage to Kosseir was obstructed at this time, and hopes were entertained of its being re-opened after some few days; I hesitated not a moment, but again spread forth the sail on the Nile for still more southern skies.

At Thebes I remained a week. At Esneh, or Latopolis, I met with the late lamented and most accomplished traveller, Mr. Burckhardt. We remained together for three or four days, scarcely absent from each other's sight for a moment, and scarcely ever silent, so much had we to enquire of and to communicate to each other. We separated, Mr. Burckhardt for the desert, and I to continue my course still upward on the stream.

I reached the Cataracts. The intelligence received here of the wonderful monuments beyond this, determined me to pursue their traces as far southward as they could be found. We procured another boat, and embarked. The Temples of Dabat, of Taefi, and Galabash, the Quarries and Inscriptions of Gartaasy, the stupendous Caveri with its alley of sphinxes and colossal statues at Garfeey, and the highly finished Sculptures of the beautiful Temple of Dukkey, rewarded the undertaking, and led me to consider the monuments of Nubia as belonging to a higher class of Art than even those of Egypt.

I had received the first attack of an Ophthalmia on quitting Mr. Burckhardt, who himself laboured under this disease at Esneh. I had now however become gradually blind, and as the least glare of light was painful, even while my eyes were closed, it was in vain to think of penetrating further.

I returned from Nubia with regret, but rich, as I then thought, in the spoils of the enterprise.

An accurate Chart of the Nile as far as I had ascended it, with a delineation of the Islands and inferior Cataracts that we had passed, an observation which fixed with some precision the Tropic of Cancer passing through the largest of these Rapids, the latitude of Dukkey, the extreme point of my voyage, with measured plans and pretty ample

TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.

details of all the monuments of antiquity that we had found, were the result of my labours on this unanticipated excursion beyond the Nubian frontier.

I descended to Keneh, and though the obstacles which at first obstructed my passage of the Desert were rather augmented than diminished, I determined on making the attempt, and accordingly set out with all the precautions which it was in my power to use.

The result was as had been predicted: I was stripped naked amid the mountains, plundered of money, papers, arms, and instruments, and abandoned to my fate. I had to trace this rocky path, naked and barefoot, scorched by day and frozen by night, for it was in the depth of the Egyptian winter. I continued for two days without food or water, and the first article of nourishment which I obtained was raw wheat from a sack, which, swelling in the stomach, had nearly proved fatal to me.

When I lay down at Kosseir I was unable to rise again, or to support the weight of my body, from the wounded state of my swollen and lacerated feet. A mutiny of the soldiery and a general commotion among the people here rendered it impossible to obtain a passage by sea from hence to any part of the opposite coast; besides which, as my instruments were gone, my labours would have availed but little in the task originally intended, that of examining, nautically and hydrographically, the upper part of the Red Sea.

I retraced my steps to Keneh without interruption, by taking another route; descended the Nile rapidly, without suffering any impedimenta to retard the progress of our vessel; and again reposed from my toils in the hospitable mansion of Colonel Missitt, one of the most amiable and worthy of men.

During my second stay at Cairo, I applied myself with great zeal to the study of the Arabic language, of which I had already acquired a slight knowledge colloquially, and after making some progress in it assumed the dress of an Egyptian Fellah, crossed the Desert of Suez to examine its Port, returned by a more northern route to explore the traces of the ancient Canal which had connected the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, visited Bubastis, Tanis, and other celebrated ruins, with the Lake of Menzaleh in the Lower Egypt, crossed from Damietta along the edge of the Delta to Rosetta, and returned at length to Alexandria, the original point of my departure.

At this period the Egyptian Government were desirous of getting some large and fast-sailing vessels into the Red Sea; but the Pasha being refused permission to send ships round the Cape, and disappointed in promised supplies from India, I offered to undertake the work of restoring the ancient Canal which I had just returned from examining, or of transporting two beautiful American brigs belonging to the Pasha, which then lay in the harbour of Alexandria, across the Desert to Suez. The practicability of these operations was satisfactorily explained to our Consul General, Colonel Missitt, thro' whom the correspondence officially passed, and he gave it his warm support; but these were undertakings which the Turks could neither sufficiently appreciate, nor accurately comprehend.

My study of the Arabic language was resumed and continued during my second stay here, till a more favorable occasion offering for the prosecution of my intended voyage to India. I left Alexandria, and came now by the way of the Canal, and the ruins of Hermonpolis Parva, on the west of the Nile, to Cairo.

From this capital I again set out, wearing the dress of a Mamouk, and associating with the soldiery, and accompanied a caravan of five thousand camels and about fifty thousand pilgrims for Mecca.

We embarked at Suez, having with us the harem of the Egyptian Pasha, who were going to the Holy City to perform their pilgrimage, and at the same time to greet their lord on his triumphant return to the Temple of his Prophet after the toils and dangers of the Wahabee war.

We sailed. The vessel in which I was embarked upset in a squall, and was nigh to foundering. Several lives were lost, and I myself narrowly escaped with the loss of all that I possessed, except my papers.

We arrived at Jeddah. I was so ill, from a combination of sufferings, as to be obliged to be carried on shore in a litter. The project which I had entertained for going to Mecca from hence was defeated, by the necessity of making myself known or dying of want.

The Sufienut-ul-Russool, a ship under English colours, arrived from India. I was taken on board her at the request of her humane commander, Captain Boog, and thro' his kind and friendly attentions I recovered rapidly. Mr. Burckhardt, who was then at Mecca on pilgrimage, and to whom I sent a messenger, came down to see me, and remained with us several days. Besides the consolation of his valuable society, I received from him the warmest and most unequivocal proofs of his friendship. He left us, and I heard of him again by a letter which he wrote to me from Medina.

We prosecuted our voyage to India, and arrived at Bombay, the only benefit I had yet reaped from it being the collection of materials for a more accurate Chart of the Red Sea than any now in use.

After a stay of some months in India, I returned again to Egypt by the same channel, in company with Mr. Babington, a fellow-voyager to whom I owe more than any public testimony or private acknowledgement can ever repay. Previous to our leaving India, we had furnished ourselves with all the books to be procured that would in any way illustrate the track we were about to pursue. The liberality of my friends, who were lovers of science and promoters of useful knowledge in every department, enabled me to furnish myself again with instruments for surveying, and the *Peripius* of the Erythrean Sea offered us a fine field for commentary and correction.

We quitted India in one of the E. I. Company's ships of war. As it was the tempestuous monsoon, it obliged us to make the southern passage, by which means we saw a great deal of the eastern coast of Africa, from Azania and Adel to the Bay of Zeyla, and I had before traced the shores of Yemen from Bab-el-Mandeb to Dofar. Positions were established, views of remarkable lands taken, hydrographical errors corrected, and much light thrown upon the disquisitions of the learned Vincent.

We landed at Mokha, and from thence our passage up the Red Sea was altogether made in native vessels. This gave us opportunities of surveying which could not otherwise have been enjoyed, with the advantage of touching at every port and creek in our way from Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez.

The voyage from India had been long and tedious, occupying nearly six months; but we accumulated in it such a valuable mass of hydrographical information as was of itself an ample reward for our labours, though these were indefatigable; and in addition to this acquisition, the mineralogy and geological features of the Arabian shores had been illustrated by specimens which were thought worthy of the thanks of the Geological Society of London, to whom they were presented.

I met my former friend, Mr. Burckhardt, a third time at Cairo, on the point of setting out, as we then thought, for the interior of Africa. My stay in Egypt was very short, however, on this occasion.

The Mercantile Community of Bombay being desirous of having some more explicit assurances of protection than they had yet received from the reigning Government of Egypt, a Treaty of Commerce was framed and entered into by Mohammed Ali Pasha for himself, the British Consul for the subjects of that nation in Egypt, and myself on behalf of my Indian friends.

This it was thought advisable to transmit to them as speedily as possible, and as it would be of infinite advantage to accompany it by personal explanations, it was proposed to me to be the bearer of it;—first, because no one was more intimately acquainted with all the facts requiring explanation than myself;—and secondly, that it was intended that I should return to Egypt in charge of the first ships which might be sent to re-open the trade.

The passage by the Red Sea was now shut, by the prevalence of the southerly winds, and there was no hope of a speedy voyage by that channel. The route by Syria and Mesopotamia was chosen, and this I undertook to follow.

It was from this period that the Travels announced in the present Volumes commenced, and the object of this introductory Narrative has been to show that I set out on them with some very ordinary qualifications, it is true, but yet with some very essential advantages. I possessed an ardour in the pursuit of enquiry and research, which all my previous sufferings had not in the least abated; I enjoyed a sound constitution and great physical strength, with the capacity of conforming to foreign manners, from having been the greater part of my life out of England; and an intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom I was about to associate; as well as a sufficient knowledge of their language for all the ordinary purposes of life, or such as did not include a critical acquaintance with their science or their literature.

In the course of the Journey thus undertaken and performed, I saw the greater part of Palestine and the country beyond the Jordan; traversed the eastern parts of Moab, Bashan, Gilead, and the Ammonites; crossed Phoenicia and the higher parts of Syria in various directions, from Baalbek by the snowy and cedar-crowned summits of Lebanon to the sea-coast, and from Antioch by the ever-verdant banks of the Orontes to Aleppo; I journeyed through Mesopotamia, by Ur of the Chaldees, to Nineveh and Babylon; and visited the great living cities of Diarbekr, Mosul, and Baghdad, in the way. I went from Ctesiphon and Seleucia, by Dastagherd on the plains, and the pass of Zagros through the mountains, into Persia; and visited Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Shiraz.

poor, among the ancient, with Kermanshah, Hamadan, Isfahan, and Shiraz, among the modern cities of Iran. This journey of twelve long months was protracted by dangers and obstacles which no one had foreseen, and rendered tedious by repeated illness arising from sufferings and privations in the way. My recovery from these I owed in one instance to the hospitable attentions which I received in the Covent of Mar Elias from the hands of the amiable Lady Hester Stanhope, a name that deserves to be immortalized, if talents and virtues of the highest order give claim to immortality; and in another, to the friendly offices of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in the bosom of whose family at Baghdad I found all the consolations which benevolence and sympathy could bestow, and all the pleasures that learning, accomplishments, and refined taste could yield.

When this long Journey terminated at last by returning me again to the society of my friends in India, it was the warm and incessant request of all who knew any thing of my labours that I would bring them before the public eye.

I had the superior happiness on my first arrival at Bombay, as well as at this time, to live in a circle distinguished by the erudition as well as the urbanity of its members. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wedderburn, Dr. Steuart and Mr. Ashburner, with the ladies of the last two, are names which no tribute of mine can raise higher than they already stand in the estimation of all who know them.

It was in this circle that the idea of publication was first conceived. It was urged on me as a duty; it was advised as a means of acquiring reputation; it was suggested as a source of profit; it was hinted at as the only way to avoid reproach. The last consideration weighed with me, I think, more powerfully than all the others. I could not suffer it to be said that I had enjoyed opportunities of adding to the common fund of human knowledge and had neglected them; and though I trembled for the imperfections almost inseparable from that which is done in haste, yet the high opinion which I entertained of the judgement of those who met all my objections with new and more forcible arguments, fixed me at length in the determination.

The incessant occupations of a subsequent voyage to the Persian Gulph, in which I was engaged in correcting the hydrography of the coasts of this Sea, in illustrating the Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates, by Arrian, and in collecting materials for a history of the Wahabean Arab Pirates, left me no leisure however for the task proposed; and after a further extension of the voyage to the coasts of Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, and Golconda, I reached the capital of India with my materials as crude and undigested as they were at the moment my journey ended.

Here, the encouraging hope of receiving the distinguished patronage of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, the very flattering encomiums bestowed on the nature of my undertakings by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the animating commendations of my scientific and worthy friend Colonel Mackenzie, the Surveyor General of India, and the warm and hearty encouragement given to me by the learned and excellent Dr. Lumsden, Professor of Arabic in the College of Fort William, stimulated me to fresh exertions; and by unwearyed applications during the detached intervals of leisure which could be allowed me from amid other duties, I have endeavoured to condense these materials into the smallest possible compass without detracting from their interest, and to arrange them for publication.

It would be anticipating what will be better done perhaps by severer judges, to say any thing regarding the style, the arrangement, or the matter of the work. Some few preliminary remarks I must however be permitted to make.

The opportunities which I enjoyed of visiting even those parts of Palestine most familiarly known, were accompanied with more favorable circumstances than usually falls to the lot of European Travellers in these regions. Through the greater part of the country I passed as a native of it, wearing the dress, and speaking the language of the Arabs; and by these means commanding a free intercourse with the people in their most unguarded moments, and opening sources of information which would otherwise have been inaccessible. From circumstances of a peculiar nature I had occasion to cross this country in a greater number and variety of directions than has been ever done by any individual Traveller before, as far as I am aware of; and although this interrupted the speed of my progress, it was attended with the advantage of enabling me to correct many Geographical errors, and to verify the positions visited in these various routes.

But the most interesting portion of these Travels, and that which may be termed entirely new, is the country of Bashan and Gilad, east of the Jordan. That stream has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge regarding the ancient Judea, since

no Traveller whose Works are published has yet described the countries beyond it. Dr. Seetzen, a German, and Mr. Butekhardt, a Swiss, the only persons who had visited them, are since dead; and their discoveries here are scarcely known even by name. Yet independently of the high interest which this portion of the Holy Land, and the adjoining districts to the eastward of it, cannot fail to excite in the minds of all those for whom the illustrations of Scriptural Topography and Sacred History have any charms, its importance as the seat of ten Roman cities, giving the name of Decapolis to the region in which they were seated, must raise the curiosity of the scholar to know something of its present state. The positions established here of some among the three-score cities of Og, the King of Bashan, in the mountains of Gilad, will gratify the Biblical inquirer; the ruins of some of the chief cities of the Decapolis will furnish food for the antiquarian; and the Greek inscriptions, copied from amidst these ruins, will be interesting to the classic student and the man of letters.

My knowledge of Arabic enabled me also to collect much information as to the names of places that were not actually seen, but were yet within reach of our route; and it will be found that most of the leading features of the topography of this portion of the Jewish possessions, whether mountains, streams, or cities, were in this way identified with those described in the histories of Moses, Joshua, and their successors.

The embellishments of this Work are all given with a view to utility rather than to ornament: though it is hoped that they will deserve the praise of the "*uile cum duci*" in its most extensive sense, and be well received by those for whose use they were prepared.

Many of the Vignettes are from original drawings, made after sketches taken on the spot; and as this is the least expensive and humblest way of adding graphic illustrations of the text, appropriate subjects have been selected from other sources, but invariably with a view to the elucidation of scenes, or the accurate representations of places, spoken of in the body of the Work.

The ancient Map of Palestine is taken, with very trifling alterations, from D'Anville, as the most generally known and approved authority on this subject, and the one most frequently referred to.

The Map of the route pursued in these Travels has been laid down with great care, entirely from my own observations, and in order to include many places altogether omitted in the ancient Map. It is constructed on a larger scale, and the face of the country through which we passed accurately delineated thereon.

The Plan of the ancient Jerusalem from the best authorities, is that which usually accompanies the Works of Josephus, and will illustrate better than any written description the changes which have taken place in the site of this city.

The Plan of the present aspect of the country and the chief positions around the modern Jerusalem, has been constructed entirely from my own observations on the spot. It cannot fail to be interesting in itself, and illustrative, as a companion to the preceding one, of the changes which this celebrated capital of Judea has undergone.

The Plan of the Ruins of Geraza, in the country of the Decapolis, beyond the Jordan, is laid down also from actual observation, corrected by two subsequent visits to the spot, as well as the plans of particular edifices amid the interesting remains of this city. And the Greek inscriptions found on the friezes, columns, and altars there, have been copied with the utmost care, and given as nearly as possible in their original form.

The Views of the most celebrated cities and towns in the Holy Land, with delineations of some of the most striking monuments of antiquity about Jerusalem, are carefully selected from a great number, all equally remarkable for their happy choice of subject, and accurate representation; but, among which, those that are selected have claim to a higher interest from the celebrity as well as beauty of the scenes they pourtray.

The work is thus offered to the Public, as perfect as the humble talents, the interrupted time, and the limited means of the Author would admit of its being made. He has endeavoured, however, amidst all these obstacles, to render it worthy of the patronage of men of learning as well as general readers. He confidently presumes that to all those who feel an interest in the elucidation of Scriptural History and Geography, that portion of these Volumes which treats of the countries east of the Jordan, will be found to possess more merit than the mere charm of novelty; while the pictures of a new country and a new people, which these hitherto unexplored regions unfold, cannot be destitute of interest even to those who read only for amusement. It is in the humble hope that all classes of readers will find something to repay their search, that the TRAVELS in PALESTINE are thus offered to the community at large, and in the earnest desire of their approbation that they are sent forth to receive their award.

N A M E S:

AT PRESENT ON THE LIST, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER IN WHICH THE COPIES OF THE TRAVELS IN
PALESTINE ARE PLEDGED TO BE DELIVERED.

With the Names of the Places or Stations at which their Delivery will be made.

As in compiling this List, from private Letters, Communications of Agents, and the Signatures of Gentlemen who have written them in the Subscription Book, it is highly probable that some errors may have occurred in the orthography of them, as well perhaps as in the Offices and Stations attached, it is requested that such errors may be pointed out by those who may discover them, in order to their being rectified before the publication of the Work, and to prevent mistakes in its delivery. — It is possible also that Gentlemen who have verbally made their requests to have their Names inserted on the List may find them omitted; and it is hoped they will pardon this, on consideration of the difficulty of retaining with certainty the transient impressions of such requests after any length of time — To obviate such risk in future, Communications, addressed directly to the Author, will be added the List in the order in which they are received.

Names.	Stations.	Names.	Stations.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K.G.&c.&c.	<i>India</i>	W. B. Martin, Esq. Commissioner of Ceded and Conquered Provinces,	<i>Calcutta</i>
Right Honorable Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope, ...	<i>Syria</i>	James Calder, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, ...	<i>London</i>	Thomas George Townshend, Esq. late <i>do.</i>	... <i>Liverpool</i>
William John Banks, Esq. M. P. ...	<i>do.</i>	Charles Tyler, Esq.	... <i>Calcutta</i>
Sir William Ouseley, ...	<i>do.</i>	Lieut. F. G. Farewell, Royal Navy,	... <i>do.</i>
Right Honorable Lord Byron, ...	<i>Europe</i>	James Mackillop, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
Count Volney, Professor of Oriental Learning, &c.	<i>Paris</i>	Patrick Stewart, Esq. ditto	... <i>do.</i>
Baron Von Hammer, Director of the "Mines de l'Orient," ...	<i>Vienna</i>	Roderick Robertson, Esq. ditto	... <i>do.</i>
Colonel Ernest Misset, H. M. late Consul General in Egypt, ...	<i>Tuscany</i>	Robert Stewart, Esq. ditto	... <i>Futtyghur</i>
J. L. Bureckhardt, late Traveller for the African Association, ...	<i>London</i>	John Fullarton, Esq. ditto	... <i>Calcutta</i>
James Bant, Esq. ...	<i>Smyrna</i>	Henry Alexander, Esq.	... <i>London</i>
Claudius James Rich, Esq. H. C. Political Agent in Turkey, ...	<i>Baghdad</i>	Charles Morley, Esq. Accountant and Auditor,	... <i>Calcutta</i>
Gideon Colquhoun, Esq. late Resident of the H. C. at Bussorah, ...	<i>Edinburgh</i>	George Udny, Esq. President of the Marine Board,	... <i>do.</i>
William Bruce, Esq. H. C. Resident in the Persian Gulf, ...	<i>Bushire</i>	John Melville, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Honorable James Stuart, Esq. Member of the Supreme Council, ...	<i>Calcutta</i>	Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. Assay Master,	... <i>do.</i>
Honorable C. M. Ricketts, Esq. ditto ...	<i>do.</i>	Eneas Mackintosh, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
Sir Francis Macnaghten, Knight, Judge of the Supreme Court, ...	<i>London</i>	Revd. J. Parsons, A. M. Presidency Chaplain,	... <i>Calcutta</i>
Honorable J. Adam, Esq. Member of the Supreme Council, ...	<i>Calcutta</i>	Revd. T. Thomason, A. M.	... <i>do.</i>
Mrs. Tyler, ...	<i>do.</i>	Alexander Colvin, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
Colonel Mackenzie, Surveyor General of India, ...	<i>do.</i>	John Macwhirter, M. D.	... <i>do.</i>
C. Buller, Esq. Senior Commissioner in Behar and Benares, ...	<i>do.</i>	S. Nicolson, M. D.	... <i>do.</i>
M. Lumsden, Esq. Professor of Arabic in the College of Fort William, ...	<i>do.</i>	James Williamson, M. D. Civil Presidency, and Marine Surgeon,	... <i>do.</i>
Captain A. Lockett, 14th Regt. N. I. College of Fort William, ...	<i>do.</i>	D. C. McIntyre, Esq. Merchant	... <i>do.</i>
Captain Thomas Roebuck, Madras Army, late ditto, ...	<i>do.</i>	John Williamson Fulton, Esq. ditto	... <i>do.</i>
James Richard Barwell, Esq. Sub-Treasurer, ...	<i>do.</i>	John Walter Sherer, Esq. Accountant General,	... <i>do.</i>
Colonel Archibald Campbell, H. M. 46th Foot, ...	<i>do.</i>	Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles,	... <i>Bencoolen</i>
Colonel M. White, 2d Regt. N. I. Hon. A. D. C. ...	<i>do.</i>	Thomas Heckford, Esq.	... <i>Sydney</i>
W. Oliver, Esq. H. C. Civil Service, Madras ...	<i>do.</i>	James Irwin, late of Turnlook,	... <i>Calcutta</i>
John Palmer, Esq. Merchant ...	<i>do.</i>	Archibald Colquhoun, Esq. Powder Mills,	... <i>Noacolly</i>
George Tod, Esq. Assistant Sub-Treasurer, ...	<i>do.</i>	Trevor Chicheley Plowden, Esq. Salt Department,	... <i>Calcutta</i>
Rev. H. Shepherd, Presidency Chaplain, ...	<i>do.</i>	Robert Howard, Esq. Attorney at Law,	... <i>London</i>
W. Morton, Esq. Deputy Accountant General, ...	<i>do.</i>	Colonel Jeremiah M. Johnson, 21st Regt. N. I.	... <i>Calcutta</i>
G. E. Law, Esq. Assistant Secretary to Govt. ...	<i>do.</i>	John Hunter, Esq. Merchant,	... <i>Comerelly</i>
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		David Clark, Esq. Merchant,	... <i>Cossimbazar</i>
		Henry William Droz, Esq. Commercial Resident,	... <i>Mirzapore</i>
		Robert Bathurst, Collector of Govt. Customs,	... <i>Benares</i>
		Thomas Yeld, Esq. M. D. Mint and Assay Master,	... <i>Bhaugulpoore</i>
		Colonel William Franklin, Regulating Officer,	... <i>Calcutta</i>
		Lieutenant F. P. Denniss, Royal Navy,	... <i>Cape</i>
		Paul Marriott Wynch, Esq. Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut,	
		Captain Dundas, M. B.	

TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.

Names.	Stations.	Names.	Stations.
Captain Archibald Oliver, 4th Native Infantry Deputy Paymaster,	Bengares	William Gibson Esq. Merchant	Pt. de Galle
Captain George Sydenham, late of Hyderabad,	London	George Chinnery, Esq. Artist,	Calcutta
Major J. W. Taylor, 14th Native Infantry, College of Fort William,	Calcutta	William Smith Esq. Register of the Civil Court,	Ramghur
Samuel Salter, Esq. Collector of Govt. Customs,	Purneah	Sir Charles D'Oyly Bart. Collector of Goverment	Calcutta
George Mackillop, Esq. Merchant,	Calcutta	Customs,	
Lieutenant James McAlpine, H. M. 8th Royal Irish Dragoons,	Meerut	John Hadley D'Oyly, Esq. Assistant Collector of Government Customs.	do.
Captain Alexander Lindsay, Bengal Artillery,	Costipoor	Captain A. J. Cloete, H. M. 21st Dragoons	Cape
Lieutenant Colonel James Nicol, Adjutant General of the Army,	Calcutta	E. R. Hargrave, Esq. Madras Civil Service,	Salem
Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone,	Poonah	J. Binny, Esq. Merchant,	Madras
Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esq. Secy. to Govt.	Calcutta	W. Scott, Esq. Merchant,	da.
Major C. S. Fagan, 18th Native Infantry, 1st Division Field Army,	Futtyshur	F. Faquier, Esq. Madras Civil Service,	do.
Henry Russell, Esq. H. C. Resident,	Hyderabad	Peter Bruce, Esq. Judge and Magistrate,	Bellary
General Sir John Malcolm, &c. &c. &c.	Mhow	Dr. Jebb, L. L. D. Madras	Madras
Mordaunt Ricketts, Esq. Agent to the Governor General,	Moorshedabad	Captain A. E. Pathello,	do.
Honorable A. H. Cole, Esq. Resident,	Mysore	Joseph Philan, M. D.	Patna
William Erskine, Esq. Magistrate,	Bombay	Captain James Stewart,	Burdwan
John Wedderburn, Esq. Accountant General,	do.	D. Turnbull, Esq.	Mirzapore
Rivers Griadall, Esq. Judge and Magistrate	Saharunpore	Colonel W. L. Gardner, Commanding Irregular Cavalry.	Khasgunge
Lieut. Col. J. W. Adam, Commanding Nerbuddah Field Force,	Hussingabad	G. D. Dyce, Esq.	Calcutta
Capt. Charles H. Campbell, Bengal Artillery, Military Secretary's Department.	Calcutta	Captain B. Halfhide, H. M. 17th Foot,	do.
Henry Meredith Parker Esq. Salt Department	do.	Lieutenant J. M. Lucas, Military Board Office,	do.
John Babington, Esq. Collector of Sea Customs for Malabar,	Calicut	Major W. R. Gilbert, Commanding Calcutta Native Militia,	do.
Benjamin Babington, Esq. H. C. Civil Service, Madras,	London	Captain C. A. Munro, Commanding 7th Native Infantry,	Bengares
William Moorcroft, Esq. Superintendant H. C. Stud,	Calcutta	William Raikes Clarke, Esq. H. C. Civil Service,	Bareilly
Thomas Harvey Baber, Esq. H. C. Civil Service Madras,	Calicut	Henry Robertson, Esq. Bombay Civil Service,	Poonah
Andrew Hudleston, Esq. do.	do.	William Purnell, Esq. Bombay Civil Service,	Bancotia
Major General Sir Robert Brownrigg, Governor of Ceylon,	Colombo	Captain Henry Pottinger, Bombay Army,	Ahmednagur
		Arthur Crawford, Esq.	do.
		James Henderson, Esq. Secretary to Government,	Bombay
		Brian H. Hodgson, Esq. H. C. Civil Service,	Almora
		W. Ryland, Esq.	Mirzapore
		James Sutherland, Esq.	Calcutta
		John Millar, Esq.	England
		Samuel Steele, Esq.	do.
		Joseph Humphreys, Esq.	do.
		M. O. Brien, Esq.	do.

N. B.—On the publication of the Work, a more accurate List of its Subscribers will be appended to it, including those obtained in England, with such additions as may be made to it in India, before that period arrives, and the Subscription closes; a limited number of Copies being contemplated, to avoid a heavier expence in the publication than the amount of Subscription received is likely to cover.